

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02538 01 OF 03 190444Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----123190 190446Z /21

O 190431Z JUN 78
FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2111
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02538

EXDIS

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA

SUBJECT: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF JUNE 18

1. THE CONTACT GROUP (MINUS THE FRENCH WHO WERE
UNAVOIDABLY UNAVAILABLE) MET SUNDAY, JUNE 18, TO
CONSIDER NEXT STEPS ON NAMIBIA IN LIGHT OF VIEWS OF
CAPITALS AND EMBASSIES. (WE HAVE NO REASON TO SUSPECT
THAT THE FRENCH WOULD NOT HAVE CONCURRED IN THE DECI-
SIONS REPORTED BELOW.) THE GROUP WAS PERSUADED, ESPE-
CIALLY BY THE COMMENTS OF AMBASSADORS SPAIN AND EDMOND-
SON, THAT A CONTACT GROUP VISIT TO DAR AND CAPE TOWN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02538 01 OF 03 190444Z

WOULD NOT BE BENEFICIAL AT THE PRESENT TIME AND THAT
LOW-PROFILE, INFORMAL APPROACHES BY RESIDENT AMBASSADORS
IN THOSE TWO CAPITALS WOULD BE MORE PROMISING.

2. WE CONSIDERED THE ORDER IN WHICH SUCH APPROACHES
MIGHT BE MADE. SHOULD THE APPROACH TO NYERERE BE MADE
BEFORE THE ONE TO BOTHA OR VICE VERSA? (THE GROUP

DISCARDED THE NOTION OF SIMULTANEOUS APPROACHES AS OFFERING NO PARTICULAR ADVANTAGE AS WELL AS POTENTIAL COMPLICATIONS.) THE GROUP'S THINKING WAS AS FOLLOWS:

- (A) IF WE WERE TO APPROACH BOTHA FIRST:
WE MIGHT BE ABLE TO INFORM NYERERE SUBSEQUENTLY THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS ARE NOT WILLING TO ACCEPT A CHANGE IN LOCATION; THAT THEY DID, HOWEVER, AGREE TO LOCATE THE RESIDUAL FORCE SOLELY AT GROOTFONTEIN; AND THAT WE BELIEVE THIS TO BE A SIGNIFICANT CONCESSION. THE FIVE COULD THEN EXPRESS OUR HOPE THAT THE FRONTLINE WOULD FIND THIS TO BE AN ACCEPTABLE COMPROMISE. THE OBVIOUS DISADVANTAGE TO THIS SCENARIO IS THE DANGER THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL AGREE TO LOCATE THE RESIDUAL FORCE SOLELY AT GROOTFONTEIN AND THAT NYERERE WILL FIND THE CONCESSION UNACCEPTABLE. THEN WE WOULD BE BACK WHERE WE STARTED FROM, HAVING IN THE MEANTIME STRENGTHENED SOUTH AFRICA'S EFFORT TO PROJECT AN IMAGE OF "REASON-ABLENESS". (THE GROUP BELIEVES IT UNLIKELY THAT THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD REJECT ELIMINATING OSHIVELLO ALTHOUGH THEY MIGHT WELL MAKE THE CONCESSION ONLY ON THE ASSURANCE THAT IT IS THE FINAL CONCESSION THEY WILL BE ASKED TO MAKE.)

- (B) IF THE APPROACH TO NYERERE IS MADE FIRST: WE WOULD HAVE THE BENEFIT OF HIS VIEWS BEFORE APPROACHING
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02538 01 OF 03 190444Z

THE SOUTH AFRICANS; HOWEVER, WE WOULD HAVE NO CERTAINTY THAT THE SUGGESTION OF LOCATING THE RESIDUAL FORCE SOLELY AT GROOTFONTEIN WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO SOUTH AFRICA. IN ADDITION, NYERERE COULD HARDLY GIVE HIS SUPPORT TO THAT SUGGESTION WITHOUT VIOLATING HIS POSITION AS SPOKESMAN OF THE FRONTLINE.

3. IN THE END THE GROUP RECOMMENDED APPRAOCHING THE SOUTH AFRICANS FIRST, BUT EVERY MEMBER HAD MIXED FEELINGS. WE, THEREFORE, AGREED TO SEEK THE ADVICE OF CAPITALS AND FRONTLINE EMBASSIES (PLUS LAGOS) BEFORE DISCUSSING THE QUESTION FURTHER. IN ORDER TO FACILITATE CONSIDERATION OF THIS QUESTION, THE GROUP HAS AGREED ON DRAFT TEXTS OF TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH BOTHA AND NYERERE. EACH DRAFT HAS BEEN WRITTEN AS THOUGH IT WILL BE USED ON THE FIRST APPROACH. WHICHEVER DRAFT IS NOT USED FIRST WOULD, OF COURSE, HAVE TO BE REVISED TO REFLECT THE OUTCOME OF THE EARLIER APPROACH.

4. IN THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR NYERERE WHICH FOLLOW (THE TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH BOTHA ARE CONTAINED

SEPTEL), THE GROUP CONSIDERED INCLUDING THE FACT THAT OUR INFORMATION INDICATES THAT THERE ARE NO LOCATIONS BETWEEN WINDHOEK AND KARASBURG WHICH COULD SUPPORT 1500 SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS. WE DECIDED AGAINST THIS INCLUSION, HOWEVER, FOR FEAR THAT IT WOULD BEG THE QUESTION OF LOCATIONS BETWEEN GROOTFONTEIN AND WINDHOEK. WE UNDERSTAND THAT THERE ARE POSSIBLY THREE CITIES IN THE LATTER AREA WHICH COULD SUPPORT THE FIFTEEN HUNDRED;

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02538 02 OF 03 190450Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----123213 190455Z /12

O 190431Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2112
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02538
EXDIS

HOWEVER, A SUGGESTION THAT THE TROOPS BE MOVED SIMPLY SOUTH OF GROOTFONTEIN OBVIOUSLY POSES THE SAME DIFFICULTIES FOR OUR PROPOSAL.

5. AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON THE TALKING POINTS FOR NYERERE: THIS CONCERNS THE FINAL SENTENCE OF THE PENULTIMATE PARAGRAPH WHICH READS: "WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS MILITARY FORCE HAS BEEN INCREASED BY THE CASSINGA RAID AND THAT THE SIZE OF THE FORCE WILL HAVE TO BE INCREASED ACCORDINGLY." THIS SENTENCE IS DESIGNED TO CONVEY TO NYERERE THAT THE FIVE ARE PREPARED TO RECOMMEND TO THE

SECRETARY GENERAL THAT HE MAKE THE UN FORCE EVEN
LARGER IN LIGHT OF THE CONCERN ABOUT THE LOCATION OF
THE RESIDUAL FORCE AT GROOTFONTEIN.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02538 02 OF 03 190450Z

6. FOR CAPE TOWN, DAR, AND PARIS:
IN LIGHT OF FRENCH ABSENCE FROM THIS MEETING OF THE
CONTACT GROUP, REQUEST YOU INFORM THE FRENCH OF THE
ABOVE AND PASS THEM COPIES OF THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS
FOR NYERERE AND BOTHA.

7. FOLLOWING ARE THE DRAFT TALKING POINTS FOR USE WITH
NYERERE: BEGIN TALKING POINTS.
OUR FIVE GOVERNMENTS HAVE REVIEWED THE POSITION IN THE
LIGHT OF OUR AMBASSADORS' REPORT OF THEIR LAST MEETING
WITH YOU. WE FEEL THAT, THANKS TO THE EFFORTS OF THE
FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS IN LUANDA, WE ARE NOW VERY CLOSE
TO A SETTLEMENT. OF THE TWO OUTSTANDING QUESTIONS, WE
TRUST THAT WALVIS BAY CAN BE DEALT WITH OUTSIDE
THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSALS THEMSELVES BY MEANS OF "A
POSITIVE AND SUPPORTIVE STATEMENT IN THE SECURITY
COUNCIL IN WHICH THE UNITED NATIONS WILL MAKE A FIRM
COMMITMENT THAT WALVIS BAY SHOULD BE PART OF NAMIBIA"
(FROM PRESIDENT KAUNDA'S MESSAGE). SOUTH AFRICA WILL
NOT LIKE THIS, BUT AS THE TEXT OF THE PROPOSALS WILL NOT
BE AFFECTED, IT SHOULD NOT AFFECT THEIR PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE
OF THE PROPOSALS.

ON THE SECOND POINT, HOWEVER, WE SEE VERY REAL DIFFICULTY
IN PERSUADING SOUTH AFRICA TO ACCEPT THE CHANGE NOW
PROPOSED, NAMELY THE LOCATION OF THE RESIDUAL SOUTH
AFRICANTROOPS AT SOME POINT SOUTH OF WINDHOEK. WE HAVE
ALREADY INFORMED YOU OF THE ADVERSE SOUTH AFRICAN
REACTION WHEN THIS QUESTION WAS RAISED WITH THEM LAST
WEEK. IT WOULD INVOLVE A MAJOR CHANGE IN THE TERMS OF
OUR PROPOSALS WHICH THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE ALREADY
ACCEPTED. IN ANNOUNCING THEIR ACCEPTANCE THE
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 USUN N 02538 02 OF 03 190450Z

SOUTH AFRICANS STATED PUBLICLY THAT THEY WOULD NOT MAKE
ANY FURTHER CONCESSIONS. THE CHANGE NOW PROPOSED WOULD
THEREFORE PRESENT THEM WITH MAJOR POLITICAL AND PSYCHO-
LOGICAL DIFFICULTY. THE SOUTH AFRICANS WILL NOT FEEL
ABLE TO MAKE WHAT WOULD BE PRESENTED BY RIGHT WING
OPPONENTS OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AS A MAJOR AND

HUMILITATING CONCESSION.

ON THE OTHER HAND, SWAPO, ANGOLA AND ZAMBIA ALSO HAVE IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL REASONS FOR SEEKING TO CHANGE THE LOCATION OF THE RESIDUAL FORCE. THESE HAVE BEEN REINFORCED BY THE CASSINGA RAIDS.

WE ARE ALL AGREED THAT THE ESSENTIAL POINT IS, IN THE WORDS OF THE COMMUNIQUE OF THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AFTER THE LUANDA MEETING, "THAT THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES IN NAMIBIA SHOULD BE PLACED IN CONDITIONS WHICH PREVENT THEM FROM BEING USED AS A MEANS OF INTIMIDATION AND REPRESSION AGAINST THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND FOR AGGRESSION AGAINST NEIGHBOURING STATES". WE BELIEVE THAT OUR PROPOSALS, BY DRASTICALLY REDUCING THE SIZE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES AND CONFINING THEM TO TWO BASES WHERE THEY COULD BE CLOSELY MONITORED BY UN FORCES IN EFFECT PROVIDES SUCH CONDITIONS. IF ALL THE OTHER TERMS OF OUR PROPOSALS ARE ACCEPTED, THE PRECISE LOCATION OF THE RESIDUAL TROOPS IS NOT IN FACT OF GREAT PRACTICAL IMPORTANCE.

WE HAVE CONSEQUENTLY BEEN CONSIDERING WHAT WE CAN OFFER IN THE WAY OF ADDITIONAL ASSURANCES TO SWAPO WHICH CAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 USUN N 02538 03 OF 03 190451Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----123217 190452Z /21

O 190431Z JUN 78

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2113
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 02538
EXDIS

ALSO BE PRESENTED TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS AS BEING WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE EXISTING PROPOSALS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ONLY POSSIBILITY IS TO NARROW DOWN FURTHER THE EXISTING TEXT OF OUR PROPOSALS WHICH PROVIDES THAT THE RESIDUAL SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS SHOULD BE LOCATED AT OSHIVELLO OR GROOTFONTEIN OR BOTH. WE UNDERSTAND IT IS THE PRESENT INTENTION OF THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO STATION RESIDUAL TROOPS AT BOTH OF THESE BASES. OUR PROPOSAL WOULD BE TO PERSUADE THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO GIVE UP THE USE OF OSHIVELLO AND CONCENTRATE ALL THEIR TROOPS AT ONE BASE IN GROOTFONTEIN. THIS WOULD IN FACT BE A SIGNIFICANT CHANGE IN THE DIRECTION THAT SWAPO WISH SINCE GROOTFONTEIN IS TO THE SOUTH OF OSHIVELLO AND OUTSIDE OVAMBOLAND. ALSO GROOTFONTEIN IS PURELY A MILITARY BASE WELL REMOVED FROM THE MAIN CENTRES OF POPULATION IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 USUN N 02538 03 OF 03 190451Z

NAMIBIA. THE CONCENTRATION OF THE TROOPS IN ONE BASE WOULD MAKE IT THAT MUCH EASIER FOR THE UN TO MONITOR THEIR ACTIVITIES. WE WOULD, OF COURSE, ENSURE THAT THE UN MONITORING PROCEDURE WAS SUFFICIENTLY CLOSE AND DETAILED TO RULE OUT ANY POSSIBILITY OF THE SMALL RESIDUAL FORCE BEING USED FOR AGGRESSIVE PRUPOSES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE UNITED NATIONS MILITARY FORCE HAS BEEN INCREASED BY THE CASSINGA RAID AND THAT THE SIZE OF THE FORCE WILL HAVE TO BE INCREASED ACCORDINGLY.

WE ARE CLOSE TO A SETTLEMENT, AND WE BELIEVE THAT WHAT WE ARE PROPOSING ON THE LOCATION OF TROOPS IS THE ONLY FEASIBLE WAY OF BRIDGING THE GAP REMAINING BETWEEN THE PARTIES. BEFORE GOING FURTHER WE WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VIEWS. LEONARD

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DECISION, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 jun 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978USUNN02538
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780254-0867
Format: TEL
From: USUN NEW YORK
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780642/aaaabksd.tel
Line Count: 319
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: a36bc785-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 apr 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2293358
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: CONTACT GROUP MEETING OF JUNE 18
TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, FR
To: STATE CAPE TOWN
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/a36bc785-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014